

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T STATE 001471 TOSEC 250191

NODIS

PARIS FOR SCHAUFLE

FOLLOWING REPEAT KHARTOUM 0010 ACTION SECSTATE 04 JAN 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T KHARTOUM 0010

NODIS

STATE PASS OTHER AFRICAN POSTS AS APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON ANGOLA

REF: STATE 001377

BEGIN SUMMARY: NIMEIRI MOST GRATEFUL FOR PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
WHICH HE CLAIMED ENUNCIATED ANGOLAN POLICY SIMILAR TO THAT OF
SUDAN. DIFFERENCE WITH USG CONCERNS MEANS, NOT ENDS. AT COMING
OAU SUMMIT, GOS WILL SEEK PERSUADE OAU TO REVIVIFY ITS ANGOLAN
COMMISSION WITH INSTRUCTIONS WORK FOR IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE
AND ESTABLISHMENT REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT THROUGH SOME FORM

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OF GENERAL ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. NIMEIRI RECEIVED ME NOON JANUARY 4 FOR DELIVERY PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE (REFTEL). FONMIN AHMED WAS PRESENT. AFTER READING MESSAGE CAREFULLY, NIMEIRI SAID THAT HE PLEASED WITH PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION, IN PARTICULAR ASSURANCE THAT USG IN NO WAY SOUGHT OR ENCOURAGED SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. SUDAN HAD FOLLOWED AKIN TO THAT OF USG POLICY UNTIL REPORTS HAD MULTIPLIED OF SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION. AS AFRICAN STATE, THIS WAS SOMETHING SUDAN COULD NOT ACCEPT. HE THEN SAID NO AFRICAN COUNTRY WANTED EITHER SOUTH AFRICAN OR SOVIETS MEDDLING THERE.

2. NIMEIRI CONTINUED THAT HIS RECENT ACTION IN RECOGNIZING MPLA REGIME HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO DISCOURAGE USSR FROM ADDITIONAL INTERVENTION. SUDAN HAD "PROOF" THAT UNSPECIFIED NEIGHBORS HAD "STRATEGIC DESIGNS" ON ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE. IT WAS TO FRUSTRATE THEIR EFFORTS, AND BECAUSE GOS BELIEVED THAT MPLA REPRESENTED MOST NEARLY A TRUE ANGOLAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT THAT SUDAN HAD FROM BEGINNING ASSISTED MPLA. NOTING LATTER GROUP HAS SOME ANTI-COMMUNIST MEMBERS, NIMEIRI STRESSED THAT GOS RECOGNITION WAS DESIGNED STRENGTHEN MODERATE WING MPLA, WHEREAS NON-RECOGNITION WOULD HAVE PLAYED INTO HANDS EXTREMISTS.

3. NIEMRI CONTINUED THAT HE FULLY SUPPORTED PRINCIPAL ENUNCIATED IN PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF LEAVING SOLUTION ANGOLAN PROBLEM TO THE ANGOLANS THEMSELVES. IT WAS JUST MEANS USG AND GOS WERE ADOPTING THAT DIFFERED. SUDAN AND NIGERIA HAD AGREED THAT RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA IS THE COURSE OF ACTION BEST CALCULATED TO ENCOURAGE THAT GROUP TO BECOME MORE MODERATE, NIMEIRI WAS CRITICAL MPLA'S DEPENDENCE ON SOVIETS AND CUBANS, CLAIMING HIS RECOGNITION LUANDA REGIME WAS DESIGNED TO HELP PREVENT DISMEMBERMENT OF ANGOLA. HE NOTED THAT HE WOULD RECEIVE VICE CHAIRMAN SOVIET PRESIDUM, S.B. NIYAZBOKOV, CURRENTLY VISITING SUDAN, FOLLOWING LATTER'S RETURN FROM SOUTH. HE PLANNED TELL NIYAZBOKOV THAT USSR SHOULD CEASE MAJOR INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA LEST THIS ESCALATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUPER POWERS AND HE WOULD ASK NIYAZBOKOB PASS THIS MESSAGE ON TO MOSCOW. NIMEIRI CONCLUDED THAT HE HOPED HAVE FORMAL REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S LETTER TOMORROW AND SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE "BROADER COOPERATION" WITH US.

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4. THANKING NIMEIRI FOR HIS FRANKNESS, I COMMENTED THAT SUDAN'S ACTION OF SUPPORTING MPLA HARDLY SEEMED METHOD BEST CALCULATED TO BRING ABOUT END WE BOTH EVIDENTLY SOUGHT OF COMPROMISE SOLUTION AMONG ANGOLAN FACTIONS WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. AS THINGS STOOD, GOS HAD RECOGNIZED ONE PARTY WHICH DREW MOST OF ITS SUPPORT FROM OVER 5,000 CUBAN TROOPS AND ADDITIONAL SOVIET ADVISORS. SHOULD SUCH REGIME TRIUMPH, IT

WOULD BE HARDLY LIKELY TO BE ABLE ACT AS FREE AGENT IN DIRECTION NIMEIRI HOPED. PRESIDENT REPLIED SOMEWHAT LAMELY THAT GOS HAD RECOGNIZED GROUP IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF ANGOLA AND WOULD BE HAPPY IF THAT GROUP WERE ENLARGED TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER ELEMENTS. I NOTED DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RECOGNIZING ANGOLA AS A STATE AND RECOGNIZING A PARTICULAR GROUP AS IT'S GOVERNMENT, NOTABLY WHEN GENERALLY ACCEPTED CRITERIA OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CLEARLY NOT MET. NIMEIRI LAUGHED AND SAID THAT SUCH CRITERIA WERE NOT MET IN A FAIR NUMBER OF OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES EITHER.

5. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, NIMEIRI SAID HIS DELEGATE TO OAU SUMMIT IN ADDIS WOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO SEEK TO PERSUADE MEMBER STATES THAT EXISTING COMMISSION OAU LEADERS FOR ANGOLA SHOULD BE REVIVED. COMMISSION SHOULD BE ASKED TO WORK FOR IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A BROADLY BASED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT THROUGH GENERAL ELECTIONS.

6. COMMENT: DESPITE DIFFERENCE IN SUBSTANCE, OUR MEETING WAS ONE OF MOST CORDIAL I HAVE HAD WITH PRESIDENT NIMEIRI. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY GRATIFIED BY PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER AND HAD ARRANGED FOR MEDIA COVERAGE OF FACT OF MY CALL. ON ANGOLAN ISSUE ITSELF, HE APPEARED BELIEVE THAT POLICY OF PLAYING ALONG WITH MPLA WOULD BE MORE LIKELY PREVENT DISMEMBERMENT ANGOLA AND ASSURE EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT MODERATE REGIME IN LUANDA THAN WOULD ONE OF CONTINUED CONFRONTATION AMONG CONTENDING GROUPS. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY FORTIFIED IN THIS POSITION BY REPORTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA. NIMEIRI'S REMARKS WOULD SEEM IMPLY THAT NIGERIA MAY HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN PUSHING AN ANTI-ZAIRE LINE HERE, BUT WE LACK INFO ON WHICH TO PASS JUDGMENT. BREWER

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UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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